

ESENSIA

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Religious Inclusivism in Indonesia : Study of
Pesantren An-Nida and Edi Mancoro, Salatiga,
Central Java

Masroer

المعاملة مع البيئة في منظور القرآن الكريم
(دراسة التفسير الموضوعي- السياقي)

د.عبد المستقيم

Shalat Tarawih Juziyyah in Madrasah Huffadz:
Community of Memorizers of Quran, Identity
Politics, and Religious Authority

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(A Theological Study of Bulu' Nene')

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Religious Inclusivism In Indonesia : Study of *Pesantren* An-Nida and Edi Mancoro, Salatiga, Central Java*

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Abstract

This abstract is the result of research intended to elaborate the students' religious inclusiveness in the Nida and Edi Islamic boarding schools (Pesantren) of Salatiga, Central Java. In its descriptive analysis, this paper will try to elaborate a phenomenon or social unit of religious life in boarding schools in which some research instruments such as participant observation, open interviews and unstructured questionnaires are used. The results showed that: , there was a shift from the structured theoretical foundation both in Islamic boarding schools of Edi Mancoro and An Nida, an overview of students' religious inclusiveness appearing in the form of culture, namely: cultural preservation to cultural transformation. The cultural forms emerge because the existence and function of religion (Islam) transforms into the culture while religion is analysed from the perspective of the local culture. The cultural and transformative inclusiveness is generated by the particularity of students' religious and educational traditions although they maintained but they have also experienced changes; and openness to adapt and impart through a transformative social process. This transformation causes the emergence of collectively cultural values agreed and implemented together, thus they are universal. The students' tradition preservation is determined by two mutually linked variables namely: 1) kiais as guardians of tradition, and 2) curriculum that maintains the teaching of classic book (Kitab Kuning (yellow book) as a buffer tradition. While the changes of tradition are also influenced by two variables, namely 1) social interaction with the surrounding local culture of the boarding schools, and 2) the students' communication patterns with their external plural environment. , the students' preserved and changing traditions produced a unique religious authority. In the Pesantren An Nida, religious authority was manifested from the supremacy of fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) enlightened by ijtihad (rational reasoning). There is a reciprocal relationship between fiqh and ijtihad, so that the dynamic verbal nature of fiqh will appear. The rational values in ijtihad was then strengthened — along with external changes — and accepted by the students' perspective of jurisprudence. In the Pesantren Mancoro Edi, the research result showed that students's complied religious authority was caused by the supremacy of dynamic fiqh enlightened by Sufism. The mystical value in Sufism also tends to be stronger — along with their contextual adaptation— thus affecting the students' fiqh perspective. Unfortunately, the religious authorities seem to have paradoxical values because of their closeness to religious symbols outside their religion. It is therefore recommended that: a) to the students, they are supposed not to understand religion as a set of symbols, but a system of value, and if not, b) other religions are then welcomed into the local culture.

Keywords: *inclusivism-transformative, Islamic religious authorities in Indonesia, Pesantren, local culture*

Abstrak

Artikel ini disusun dengan tujuan untuk memperoleh gambaran detail bagaimana inklusivitas keagamaan santri di Indonesia, khususnya di pondok pesantren An Nida dan Edi Mancoro Salatiga, Jawa Tengah. Dengan menggunakan analisis deskriptif interpretatif; yakni menggambarkan suatu fenomena yang ditafsirkan atau unit sosial tentang kehidupan keagamaan di pesantren, dan penggunaan instrumen riset berupa observasi partisipasi, wawancara terbuka dan angket tidak berstruktur. Artikel ini menjelaskan bahwa; pertama, terjadi pergeseran dari landasan teoritis

yang disusun, baik di pesantren An Nida maupun Edi Mancoro, gambaran umum inklusivitas keagamaan santri yang muncul berbentuk budaya, yaitu dari kelestarian ke transformasi kultural. Bentuk budaya muncul karena eksistensi dan fungsi agama (Islam) itu masuk ke dalam kebudayaan; agama dilihat dari perspektif kebudayaan lokal. Inklusivitas yang bersifat transformasi kultural ini dihasilkan oleh partikularitas tradisi pendidikan keagamaan santri yang meskipun dipertahankan tetapi ia juga mengalami perubahan; keterbukaan untuk menerima dan memberi lewat proses sosial yang bersifat transformatif. Transformasi ini menciptakan nilai-nilai kultural yang disepakati dan diberlakukan bersama, dengan demikian bersifat universal. Kelestarian tradisi santri ditentukan oleh dua variabel yang saling berhubungan, yakni: 1) kiai sebagai penjaga tradisi, dan 2) kurikulum yang mempertahankan pengajaran kitab kuning (klasik) sebagai penyangga tradisi. Sementara perubahan tradisi dipengaruhi oleh dua variabel pula, yaitu 1) interaksi dengan sosial budaya lokal di mana pesantren itu berdiri, dan 2) pola komunikasi santri dengan lingkungan eksternal yang plural. Kedua, tradisi santri yang dipertahankan sekaligus mengalami perubahan itu menghasilkan otoritas keagamaan yang unik. Di pesantren An Nida, otoritas keagamaan itu terwujud dari supremasi fikih yang diterangkan oleh ijtihad. Ada hubungan timbal balik antara fikih dengan ijtihad, sehingga watak verbalistik fikih mengalami dinamisasi. Nilai rasionalitas dalam ijtihad menguat –sejalan dengan perubahan di luaran- dan diterima menjadi cara pandang santri terhadap fikih. Di pesantren Edi Mancoro, memperlihatkan bahwa otoritas keagamaan yang dipatuhi santri terwujud dari supremasi fikih yang mengalami dinamisasi akibat tercerahkan oleh tasawuf. Nilai mistisisme yang terdapat di dalam tasawuf kemudian menguat pula –seiring dengan penyesuaiannya terhadap kontek- sehingga mempengaruhi cara pandang santri terhadap fikih. Tetapi otoritas keagamaan tersebut mengalami paradok karena ketertutupannya dengan simbol agama di luar santri. Oleh karena itu disarankan; a) kepada santri supaya tidak lagi memandang agama sebagai seperangkat simbol, tetapi sistem nilai, dan jika tidak, b) bagi agama lain agar dapat masuk ke dalam kebudayaan lokal setempat.

Introduction

In the dynamics of Indonesian society with its different levels now tending to change towards higher quality expectations, religion as one aspect of social life, seems to always be an interesting and at the same time a worrying issue. The interesting as well as worrying issue on religious aspects of life were revealed, in the existing reality that, among others, religion turns out to be not only a trigger for the emergence of social disintegration but can also serve as a unifying factor in society¹.

Social disintegration fueled by religion usually appears in the form of tensions between social groups, and even physical fights which often boils down to a series of acts of violence and anarchism, as in the case of physical conflict between Islam and Christianity that occurred

in Poso, Central Sulawesi or patterned jihad bombing in major cities in Indonesia a few years ago, as well as the conflict of Muslim Christians in Ambon in 1999-2003.² Such violence if allowed to drag will interfere with the future of religious tolerance in the country. And the edges of the joints can destruct social lives and harm any groups, including the government which has been acting as caretaker leader when it comes to national stability.³

The problem is then why religion is often assumed to be a trigger for social disintegration while in the one side every religion teaches sublime human values such as safety, kindness

² Muhammad Wildan, *Mapping Radical Islamism in Solo: A Study of the Poliferation of Radicalism in Central Java*, dalam *al-Jamiah Journal of Islamic Studies UIN Sunan Kalijaga*, Volume 46, No. 1/ 2008, 61-62.

³ Rohmat Suprpto, "Deradikalisasi Agama Melalui Pendidikan Multikultur-Inklusiv: Studi pada Pesantren Imam Syuhodo Sukoharjo", at *Jurnal Islam Profetika*, Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta, Vol. 15, No. 2, December 2014, 247.

¹ Soetjipto Wirosardjono, "Jalan Menuju Toleransi Beragama di Indonesia", an introductory note in *Agama dan Pluralitas Bangsa* (Jakarta: P3M, 1991), ix.

and tolerance for all people who pledge subscribes? If so, the most possible answer can be likely traced from the theological point of view as theology is essentially a reflection of the social life of faith in religion. Consequently faith can be related to what the religious people called spiritual experiences touched by the one, who determines, is the creator, the direction and the purpose of life, and the divine, and in short the God (Allah).⁴ Faith is finally grounded on a recognition that the only God who only creates and places, to whom everything returns in this universe. This means that religious values always relate to human faith. Religion is then not only constituting a theory, but formulating faith and directing social behaviour and actions of believers.⁵

In addition to teach values system and Order and social norms that guide the behavior of believers, religion itself is also trying to instill faith in the given and brought truth of the absolutitation.⁶

It is the teaching absolutitation which is a growing faith that will certainly eliminate someone's doubt of his/her embraced religion. However, without definite beliefs, someone's religiosity seems to be doubtful while its validity is questionable. But the logical consequence of this teaching absolutitation is that it certainly will bear not only the attitude of fanaticism that makes people seek to absolutize their choosen religions, but he will also feel to bear "sacred duty" on how to convince the others on their teaching absolutitation as undeniable absolute truth (*bila kaifa*).⁷ This attitude of fanaticism and "feeling" of responsibility of the sacred duty (*heruf*) motivates any religion's competence to

spread their religion in the midst of society. When bad atmosphere and discrimination colour the competition, the conflict and physical violence in the name of religion can not be avoided.

It is clear then that absolutitation of religious doctrine was not only a question of theology un sich, but also created social problems, especially when it caused the emergence of attitude of exclusivism of people living in a multi-religious society. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru once sharply asserted that Semitic religions (Judaism-Christianity-Islam) in fact teach exclusivism, and do not bring any spirit of pluralism. He continued holding that, these Semitic religions do not have any spirit of tolerance and openness, compared with the teachings of Hinduism on harmony.⁸ This Nehru's sharp criticism, if seen from the presence of the history of religions in this country, is actually irrelevant, because, all the "official religions" coming to the country in their own history have always propagated their religious teaching through peaceful and accommodating method.⁹ In the teachings of Islam was also explained that Islam is a peaceful religion that respects tolerance and open to pluralism. Signals about pluralism in Islam are also found in the Qur'anic verse of Kafirun verse 6, which reads, "For you is your Religion and for me my religion."¹⁰

In this country, all religions coming were spreaded out through the adjustment phase with earlier ones sometimes creates "religious syncretism" as seen in the spread of Islam in Java. But the interesting thing was that the Islamic shape in syncretic cultural Java, did not pretend to bring religious fervor, but brought

⁴ John A. Titaley, et.al. *Berteologi Di Tengah Masyarakat Majemuk Indonesia* (Semarang: Bina Jemaat, 1994), 5.

⁵ John A. Titaley, et.al. *Berteologi Di Tengah*.

⁶ Moslim Abdurrahman, "Posisi Berbeda Agama dalam Kehidupan Sosial di Pedesaan" in Mulyanto Sumardi, ed., *Penelitian Agama Masalah dan Pemikiran* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1982), 138.

⁷ Moslim Abdurrahman, "Posisi Berbeda Agama, 138-139.

⁸ TV. Philip, *Christianity and Religious Pluralism* (Bengaluru: The United Theological College, 1988), 30.

⁹ Soetjipto Wirosardjono, "Jalan Menuju Toleransi, 8.

¹⁰ Arif Nuh Safri, "Radikalisme Agama Penghambat Kemajuan Peradaban", at *Esensia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin, Fakultas Ushuluddin dan Pemikiran Islam UIN Sunan Kalijaga*, Vol. XIX, No.2, October 2013, 192.

spirit of tolerance.¹¹

The forms of positively appreciated Islam seem to be the impact of the role of Islamic boarding schools as educational institutions as well as the centre of the initial spread of Islam, as confirmed by the orientalist Professor John and then quoted by Zamakhsyary Dhofier saying:

*"It was the institutions of the Islamic boarding schools that constitute the most decisive factors of Islamic kingdoms, and the most important role in the spread of Islam to the outposts.....".*¹²

However, *Pesantrens* that are known as the main Islamic religious institutions in shaping people's religious understanding that seemed stalled because of their old ages, they actually undergo fundamental changes. Christian Snouck Hurgronje -as quoted by Abdurrahman Wahid- revealed that

while Islam in Java looks static and immersed in books of *salaf* (ancient) of mid-century, was also experiencing fundamental changes; which were slow, complex and deep.¹³ The evolutionary changes were caused by, for example, a previous refusal shown by boarding as a result of protective attitude toward classical-modern educational system imported from the expansion of European culture, which were then slowly accepted and entered as a series of educational systems in Islamic boarding schools. The changes more happened after the Dutch colonial government left Indonesia in the early days of independence.

In the meantime, along with the recent changes in religious life in the country now appearing a new awareness of the need for inter-religious dialogue, as a consequence of the emergence of awareness of religious pluralism,

due to the state policy or because of social pressure flow phenomena, then the changes should immediately bring a number of new problems for the existence and role of the schools themselves. The problem is then, how were *Pesantrens* as the oldest Islamic institutions able to put themselves in the midst of the change of the global awareness of religious pluralism today? Do they tend to close themselves with boring religious exclusivism toward the constantly changing and challenging world? Or are they capable of adjusting to adapt to the inclusive religious views and attitudes? If the answer is yes, how was that picture of religious inclusivism built in boarding schools in the middle of local culture (Javanese) surrounding for centuries?

In terms of this question, the life of boarding school students as a main component constitutes an interesting and important phenomenon to be observed. Because, in addition to be the religious communities considered to be traditional and unique in the midst of a modern tendency of the Indonesian society. Students as products more produced by the boarding schools rather than elite outside, in fact have a great influence in developing religious thinking and interpretation of Muslims, mainly the one who are in rural areas.¹⁴ This effect is probably due to, among others, the level of students' social mobility in the surrounding environment. So the problem does not depend on the schools as an institution, but on the students themselves as the centre of Islamic religious understanding during this time. Without the presence of students, it seems that the existence of Islamic religious schools as institutions will fade and gradually disperse. Therefore the actual boarding survival is determined by the presence or absence of students.¹⁵

¹¹ Clifford Geertz, *Islam Yang Saya Amati: Perkembangannya di Maroko dan Indonesia*, trans. Hasan Basari (Jakarta: YIIS, 1982), 22.

¹² Zamakhsyary Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994), 17-18.

¹³ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Muslim Di Tengah Pergumulan* (Jakarta: Lappenas, 1981), 59.

¹⁴ Moeslim Abdurrahman, "Posisi Berbeda Agama, 139.

¹⁵ Pradjarta Dirdjosanjoto, *Memelihara Umat: Kyai Pesantren dan Kyai Langgar di Jawa* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999), 114

Of the two reasons mentioned above, the phenomenon of students' religious life is important to observe, more especially in terms of its contribution in creating a harmonious and humane form of religious life for the benefit of religions in the Indonesian future. In fact, The word student (*santri*) has been said to have two meanings. The first refers to a group of participants of a boarding school education, and the latter to the cultural roots of a group of Muslims.¹⁶ Then the word student has a broad and narrow senses. In a narrow sense, students are a group of students of the religious schools called *Pesantren*. The students' life at boarding school remind us of the monastery, but the students are not the pastor or priest. A student is not a apprentice of saint, he was just a young boy to grow up in a religious environment, to grow up with a thundering sermons that resonated in his ears.¹⁷ Abdurrahman Wahid, as quoted by Badrus Samsul Fata, called this *santri* model as a subculture that transformed into a pillar of Indonesian culture and identity with all its plurality.¹⁸

But in a broad sense, the students are part of Java citizens "who perform Islam correctly", like praying, going to the mosque on Friday and others.¹⁹ It is the first meaning or the narrow sense which is focused in this study, however the second sense will be attached. In the first sense, it can be said that the almost area of Java, both in urban and rural areas have boarding institutions. It is estimated that there are thousands of Islamic boarding schools today, even the numbers tend to increase instead. The existence of *Pesantren* which are scattered

everywhere shows that the interests and tendency of the community to study in a boarding school is still relatively large.

Similarly, in the social reality of the Salatiga region and its surrounding, the presence of dozens of Islamic boarding schools scattered in several places indicate a *santri* community living in the midst of religious pluralism society. This diversity appears from the hustle of life in religious communities of this area. In city areas, there are visible dynamic activities of the churches and Christian communities. Correspondingly, there are also Buddhist and Confucian temples and a number of pagoda found in the midst of the Muslim community. The colorful religious life there will lead religious attitudes of students in two options, namely inclusive or exclusive.

Apparently there have been many studies of schools conducted by the experts of the social sciences and religion. But the most done studies emphasize the institutional analysis or leadership schools and kiai leadership in Islamic boarding schools. Therefore, the study of social interaction with students of other religious life as an interaction between a particular community constitutes a new step and is relevant in the light of religious pluralism of Indonesian society in general, and in Salatiga in particular.

In that context, taking the religious life case studies of students in Salatiga and surrounding areas, especially the *santri* communities living in the Islamic boarding school (*Pesantren*) of An-Nida and of Edi Mancoro in their social interaction with other religions is interesting to study. By emphasizing the model search in inclusive social interaction in the lives of students in conjunction with the local culture, the research is done for several reasons: firstly, the popularity of *Pesantren* and the kiai in the local level of Salatiga and its surroundings, secondly, the different geo-cultural location;

¹⁶ Abdul Munir Mulkhan, *Runtuhnya Mitos Politik Santri* (Yogyakarta: Sipsess, 1992), 1.

¹⁷ Clifford Geertz, *Abangan Santri Priyayi dalam Masyarakat Jawa* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya, 1981), 243.

¹⁸ Badrus Samsul Fata, "Arah Baru Pesantren di Indonesia: Fundamentalisme, Modernisme dan Moderatisme", at *Esensia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin, Fakultas Ushuluddin dan Pemikiran Islam UIN Sunan Kalijaga*, Vol. XV No. 1 April 2014, 16

¹⁹ Clifford Geertz, *Abangan Santri Priyayi*, 268.

city and villages, thirdly, the religious beliefs, which is also different, namely the tendency as a modern boarding school as found in the Pesantren An-Nida and tendency as a traditional Islamic boarding school as found in the Edi Mancoro traditional Pesantren, fourthly, the number of the students who read formal education, such as a formal education are relatively bigger than in other Pesantrens in Salatiga and its surroundings, and the fifth, the high enough level of Salatiga people's religious heterogeneity.

Theoretical Framework

From the generic side, the word inclusivism is a noun form of the word inclusive and is derived from the word "inclusivity" which means the quality of being inclusive.²⁰ The word inclusive literally means something that can be received; including, enclosing or comprehending.¹⁷ ²¹ The word implies inclusiveness of views on the implementation process to accept or put something from the outside. In factual reality, there are two basic characteristics of inclusiveness, the first, receiving something from the outside according to the internal structure obtained through a process of transformation or expectations. Second, the natural process of receiving something from the outside, there is no change in the internal structure. Output from outside may occur without a process of expectation or transformation.²²

The rest, after entering into the Indonesian vocabulary, the word 'inclusive' turned into an Indonesian word 'inklusif' implying counted; included. ²³ Then it can be made an

operational definition of students' religious inclusivism in the sense of a religious view and attitude of openness; process of admission of students in boarding institutions for outdoor life embodied in the views and socioreligious behavior. Of course, in the theological context to which theologians and church fathers still debate it, inclusivism was born as a reaction to perceived exclusivity not matching the reality of a pluralistic social world. In theological exclusivism, the starting point is found in a certain religion claims as the only way of salvation, both from the ontological and epistemological sides. So it is only a religious person, for example, a Christian who has a right to obtain salvation, while the other religions do not have or in other words; *eclesian nulla salus* which means there is no salvation outside the church.²⁴ It is from here that inclusivism is born with an offer that salvation is linked to the work of Christ to all people from all faiths. This means that people outside of Christianity are included in the scope of Christian salvation.²⁵ In the language of the Koran, Islam's presence to the world brings mercy to the world. Islam is then *rahmatan lil alamin* religion, a revealed religion which not only gives mercy to the Muslims only, but also to non-Muslims and to all creatures in the universe. According to Nurcholis Madjid as quoted by Zoelkifli Nelson and Dardiri, said al-Islam does not always have to be interpreted as organized religion or institutionalized religion. It can be interpreted more generally, ie every religion that teaches the attitude of surrender to God, as the meaning of the word Islam itself.²⁶

In the meantime, the theoretical frameworks of religious inclusivism in Islamic discourse actually has a variety of models. The diversity

²⁰ JA. Simpson & ESC. Weiner, *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Second Edition, Vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 19879), 802.

²¹ JA. Simpson & ESC. Weiner, *The Oxford English*.

²² JA. Simpson & ESC. Weiner, *The Oxford English*.

²³ Tim Penyusun Kamus Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1998), 332.

²⁴ John Hick, *A Christian Theology of Religions* (Kentucky: Westminster Jhon Knox, 1995), 19.

²⁵ John Hick, *A Christian Theology*, 20.

²⁶ Zoelkifli Nelson dan Dardiri, "Inklusivisme dan Humanisme Pesantren", at *Jurnal Toleransi: Media Komunikasi Umat beragama*, UIN Sultan Syarif Qasim Riau, Vol. 8, No. 2, Juli-Desember 2016, 138.

of models arise because of the different angles used as a frame of reference in looking at the issue inclusivism. There are several models of inclusiveness: 1) mystical inclusivism (*Sufi*) 2) perennial model 3) political model 4) *shari'ah* models 5) ideological model 6) theological models 7) ethical model and 8) cultural model. The option selected in this research is to use the model of cultural inclusiveness. Inclusiveness of this model can be observed from the standpoint of understanding schools as a sub culture or local culture.

Pesantren as a sub culture can be defined in accordance with the following criteria expressed by KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, namely: the existence of *Pesantren* as a living institution that deviate from the general pattern of life in the community due to its emphasis on life is sacred as opposed to profane, the existence of a number of supporting elements that form the backbone of life boarding schools, such as *kiai*, yellow book, students, the process of forming its own values in the schools, and the attraction to the outside, allowing the outside community considers boarding schools as an ideal choice for the attitude of the religious life, and the development of the interplay between a boarding school with the outside community culminated in the formation of new values received by both parties as an integrated and universal values.²⁷

Furthermore, the definition of theoretical sub-culture or local culture can be understood as the entire local wisdom born of the views, values, and beliefs and faiths that have been practiced for centuries rooted. The local culture can also mean tradition bound by geo-social. The word tradition is not native to Indonesia's national language, it is actually the derivation of English words; tradition which means "the passing of belief and custom from

one generation to the next".²⁸ In Arabic, the word tradition is often referred to as *al-'adah*, the local practice and custom of our ancestors for generations.²⁹ This means that the local culture is meant by a system of world views, values, beliefs and social behavior of the heritage and is practiced daily as a norm of a society.

Methodology

Besides inclusivism itself as the principal epistemological issues that are the subject of study and independent variables, it also becomes the approach in this research. However the analysis used in this research is a sociological interpretation, namely to understand the problems of a social situation under study, without any rigid reference of theoretical basis. To reach at the goal of this research it is eligible to emphasize the use of qualitative data through participant observation and interviews for one year against informants, although quantitative data is also used on a small scale. Taking the unit of analysis, research subjects and students who are living in *Pesantren* An Nida and Edi Mancoro, then this type of research is a case study in the sense that it is used to restrict the object, so the special object can be drawn into generalizing conclusions and universum.

This general conclusion is obtained through the collection of primary and secondary data of the available facts. Then, from the collected data the selection of relevant data and the irrelevant data to the research title are done. After the selection of data is done, then the data is verified by cross-linked data analysis (triangulation) then concluded and summed into the premises of sociological interpretation based on the existing theoretical framework to establish a correlation between religious inclusivism as

²⁷ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Bunga Rampai Pesantren* (Jakarta: Dharma Bakti, 1399 H), 10.

²⁸ AS Homby, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, Fifth Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 1267.

²⁹ Greg Fealy & Greg Barton, ed., *Tradisionalisme Radikal Persinggungan NU-Negara* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1997), 141.

independent variables with the local *Pesantren*'s culture as the dependent variable.

In terms of the working process this research was carried out in three stages: First, two months of fieldwork carried out as a pre-study with notification to authorities taking care of the administrative and research permits. Then we specify the location of the research, particularly selection of two Islamic boarding schools as comparison, those are the *Pesantren* Edi Mancoro and An Nida. After the two schools were selected for the study, then we contacted the key informants, the *kiais* as the *Pesantren* caregivers and key students who become the *santri* leaders. It was continued by staying in the two boarding schools for two weeks respectively to make observations or general observations about the two *Pesantren*'s general descriptions; ranging from the physical condition of the building, the condition of students and students' daily activities. The collected data from the general observation was used to improve the design of the study.

Second, a six month observation of staying in the two schools (three months on either the school). At this stage, the activities were focused on in-depth interviews to key informants, especially regarding the history of the two schools, students' social interaction with other social groups outside the school and also the *santris*' religious views of other religions. The obtained data from these interviews were then cross-checked by participant observation by which we stayed in the students' community for three months in each school to determine the students' daily religious activities in the form of lectures on yellow book (classic standard books) and to see how were the patterns of students' social interaction with other religious groups in various forms, such as halaqah, seminar discussions that sometimes invited other religious social groups, as well as socio-economic activities when the students were

out of schools, and the two schools' social interaction with their surrounding communities in a variety of missionary activities and the Javanese cultural activities, such as recitals, mutual assistance and gatherings (*selametan*). In the case of these interviews were conducted in person, especially when conducted interviews with *Pesantren* caregivers through informal recorded conversations like the one between a student and the teacher so that the position was not impressed as the researcher who was acting as a researcher. In a series of interviews with scholars (*kiai*), for example, the interviews were performed in an intimate atmosphere and amicably; visit to their houses where we sat together discussing something that was sometimes beyond the title of research, followed where the *kiai* went and stepped around the *Pesantren* complex with relax, and even it was also carried out in the time after the congregation prayer while walking together.

Third, finding dubious data, mainly the data on students' social religious activities related to religious inclusivity and local cultural activities. It was followed by matching the data and then processing data disaggregated by category of each boarding school, and then analyzed them based on the existing theoretical framework to produce a coherent conclusions.

Research Findings

Socio-Historical Setting

In terms of socio-geography, Salatiga is a small town located in the highlands of the interior of Java. The city is precisely located in the foothills of Mount Merbabu, so in the morning was cool, and cool. From the capital of Central Java province, the first city in the 15th century which was once the site of the colony-sharing agreement between the British and the Dutch colonial government, the city was located in the south, about forty-eight miles from Simpang Lima Square of the city of Semarang, or fifty

phenomenon of people with different religious backgrounds; Christians and non-Christians, it also accommodates people from various tribes who came from various parts of Indonesia, such as the Batak, Papua, Ambon, Sundanese, Minahasa and Dayak.

In the settlements along trade centres, some parts are inhabited by Chinese people surrounded by small traders from the Java and Padang. In the environment of Chinese people, some practice Confucianism, a few converted to Christianity and some to Islam. There is also a few group who follow Buddhism. In terms of Buddhism followers, some Budhis Chinese people tend to isolate from or rarely interact socially with people from the Javanese Buddhist religion that embraces its past ancestors. They live modestly in a village communities in the villages of south Salatiga or residing on the slopes of Mount Merbabu.

As a strategic region in terms of economic, political and cultural perspective, Salatiga is an area that connects the intersections called *Joglosemar* (Jogjakarta, Solo and Semarang). From the economic side, Salatiga is a transit city that connects, traffic trade between Solo, Semarang and Yogyakarta. Politically, the city has received direct influence from dynamics and political struggles arising from the three areas. Therefore, if the political upheaval happen in the form of riots against ethnic Chinese in Solo a few years ago, for example, the city controller would anticipate its impacts through, among others, the deployment of the military which has bases in various corners of the city, to keep watch.

Culturally, Salatiga is a meeting of two cultures of Java, namely inland and coastal culture. The inland culture is located in rural communities that live along the south of the island of Java, while the coastal culture is located along the northern coast of Java. In its history mixed with the legend, inland culture

rooted through the remains of the influence of the kingdom of Kalingga (Holing) formerly in the 7th century AD centered suspected area, and then followed by Majapahit kingdom to Sultanate of Mataram. Meanwhile, coastal culture was brought by the family of the Sultanate of Demak with Sunan Pandanaran; the authorities in the region who changed his life into a saint (*wali*), Islamic missionaries in the interior of Java who were formerly Sunan Kalijaga's students. Through his legendary story, he had a brief stop in Salatiga before continuing his spiritual odyssey to Klaten due to interception by three robbers were later defeated and felt guilty (wrong-three (*salah-tiga*= *salatiga*), so they repented and were willing to be his students.

After Sunan Pandanaran whose currently tombs were found in the village of Bayat, Klaten and also called Sunan Bayat, was sacred by the Javanese both *santris* and *abangan*, there also entered into the Salatiga Sunan Kudus and his bodyguards (*Suranatan* soldiers) on the way to Yogyakarta due to social turbulence in Demak kingdom ending in the displacement in Pajang (near Solo) by Joko Tingkir; Demak soldier who was born in Salatiga. In Salatiga areas, remnants of Sunan Kudus' influence is still visible to this day, especially with the presence of Kudus people who preach and make a living in this area. While in the Yogyakarta area the influence has been seen from the existence of village named Suronatan located around the palace.

In the west of the city, exactly to the southwest about four kilometers from Pesantren Edi Mancoro there is also folklore arising from pre-Islamic times and is still living among the locals, about the greatness of Si Baru Klinting. It is said that he was an ugly boy but very powerful. In the odyssey to find his missing parents and later discovered to be a giant dragon due to the curse of god, he stopped at Tuntang and lived with a kind old widow. In this place

also, Si Baru Klinting showed his powerful strength to build a dam by only unplugging a stick stuck in the ground, and the flood went and drowned the entire village. That was the origin of Rawa Pening in Tuntang of which its "flood-water" now is felt beneficial not only for the Government to take its electricity, but for agricultural irrigation and fishbreeding pond for a part of the population of Central Java.

In the history of the growth of *Pesantren*, in 1890 AD in the area Salatiga there actually stood a boarding school called *Pesantren Al Ittihad* which was located approximately ten miles north east of the city centre of Salatiga. Based on information received by Islamic scholars (kiai) and records generated from visits to various places, in Salatiga and its surrounding areas up to now there are no less than 35 *Pesantrens*. Some of them are located in the peripheral areas, but actively interact socially through a network of religious ceremonies held such as *istighasah*, a kind of prayer that is read together to show concern over the social situation. Khaul or the anniversary of the death of a cleric (*ulama*) which is held annually, such as service on Easter Sunday. Ceremony of Prophet birthday organized by reading prayers recited (verse) to praise the Prophet Muhammad or the Koran grand occasion. Of the 35 *Pesantren*, two of them are, among others, *Pesantren An Nida* and *Edi Mancoro*. As a boarding school, *Pesantren Nida An* was established in 1980³⁰ intended to give more impression of modernity when contrasted with traditionalism, as their most *santri* stated based on some factors like, among others, the locations of *Pesantren* that are geo-culturally located in urban areas. So, city is synonymous with the values of modernity. The position of this school taken care of by the (late) KH. As'ad Ali, a scholar (*ulama*) who graduated from a boarding school in Kudus, about a thousand metres away from the south of the town square of Salatiga. In

contrast to *Pesantren An Nida*, a boarding school under the responsibility of Eddie Mancoro KH. Ridwan Mahfud — a newcomer *santri* from Kudus — which was established in 1965 is a salafiah *Pesantren*.³¹ Although the locations of these schools are administratively under the Semarang regency government, but it is geo-culturally closer to Salatiga. In addition to the factor of residents living around the *Pesantren* that do a lot of social mobility to Salatiga, the distance from the town square to *Pesantren Edi Salatiga Mancoro* is also considered. It takes ten minutes only as the radius is approximately 7 kilometers.

In the context of religious pluralism now, the dynamics of *Pesantren An Nida* and *Edi Mancoro* is seen from the social interaction with the community of non-Islamic schools. Social interactions have been shown by both *Pesantrens*, not only in the world of commerce, as is done in markets or shops during the transaction, but also in the field of education and social services, such as visits of some Christian pastors and students that have been done in both the school. Therefore, almost all the students in the two schools that are not strange to the non-Islamic world, as seen from the presence of some Christian leaders. It has exactly made them have an open view and attitude towards the phenomenon of non-Islamic religions, especially with Christianity. It certainly produces a distinctive characteristic of how Islamic inclusivism models are found in both the *Pesantrens*.

The Profile of An Nida

Pesantren An Nida was initiated by KH. As'ad Ali who was formerly an ordinary people living in the Ledok village of Salatiga. When he was young he was once advised by a cleric (*ulama*) from Tingkir; KH. Khumaidi Saleh

³⁰ An Interview with KH. Ali As'ad, 14 October 1999.

³¹ An Interview with KH. Mahfud Ridwan, 20 November 1999.

³² to learn the Koran in an Islamic boarding school. KH. As'ad Ali accepted the advice, and then went to Kudus to study at *Pesantren Al Ma'ahidud Diniyatul Islamiyah*.³³ After finishing his study KH Ali As'ad returned to Salatiga, and then built a house with his wife who was one of KH. Muhiith's daughters. In Salatiga, he then set up a boarding school, named An Nida. The word An Nida itself comes from the meaning of the dream in which he ever met a kiai who was draining the water. In his dream, KH. Ali As'ad saw deceased KH. Khumaedi Saleh was draining water from a swimming pool of Senjoyo Tingkir to the city of Salatiga. Then KH. Saleh Khumaidi called him to participate to help him drain water to the city. KH. Ali As'ad was curious about the dream because they do not know how to interpret it. For as long as at the seminary he never studied to interpret dream. Finally he went to Kudus to ask kiai who knows the science of dream interpretation. According to scholar (kiai), the dream was a sign for him to immediately set up a boarding school in the town of Salatiga.³⁴

Not long after that he called his alumni friends in Al Ma'ahid in Salatiga, they are among others: Muslim Jawahir, Noah Ahmad Salim, Rasyidi and Damami for a meeting and an agreement to establish a boarding school, later named An Nida which means calling. In 1979, for the first time schools was opened with its first 26 students. the number of students 26 people.³⁵ A year later, it was on 1 January 1980 that An Nida was officially opened which was located in front of the KH Ali As'ad's house. A

few years later the An Nida boarding school grew so rapidly, that the number of students between the years 1986-1990 increased sharply with its three staying-in hundred students.

Physically, it can be said that the building complex of An Nida Islamic School is quite magnificent, of which its residence of scholars (kiai) is decorated in European architecture, and has dormitory buildings for boy and girl students, separated by a three-floor mosque, along with a vast central courtyard. This shows this impressed modern *Pesantren*. The location of school is also very strategic because it is only a few meters from the Solo-Semarang highway. What's interesting about its mosque building is that besides its internal room is used as a room to learn, it also became a place of worship as well as students' bedroom because the floor is made of high quality teak wood that feels warm in the cold Salatiga. Meanwhile, the magnificent and grand residence of the kiai is not only used for recitals, but also for living room to welcome guests from business colleagues as well. Incidentally KH. Ali As'ad was a businessman and supplier of goods for a well-known herbal medicine to the factory of Jamu Jago in Semarang.

Students' Social Interaction

That the *Pesantren* complex is not restricted by a fence shows openness to the outside world. Many guests and people with a variety of interests outside of schools pass the entrance. Through the entrance road connecting the *Pesantren* complex to Semarang Solo highway, the students also have social interaction with the outside world. Therefore, before the sun rises in the morning at around 6:30, the students come out to go to school, both in junior and senior high schools. So when observed apparently, they are not only learning the Koran at the cottage, but also learned in schools and madrasas in the city of Salatiga. Koran learning

³² KH. Khumaedi Shaleh, the late was a prominent scholar from Tingkir who studied in Kudus, Central Java.

³³ *Pesantren Al Ma'ahidud Diniyatul Islamiyah* is located in Krapyak village in the south part of Kompleks Mosque Menara Kudus. The *Pesantren* was founded by KH. Muhiith one of alumni of University of al-Azhar University, Egypt. An interview with KH. Ali Asad, 13 October 1999.

³⁴ An interview with KH. Ali As'ad, 13 October 1999

³⁵ Masdar Mas'udi, et.al., *Direktori Pesantren I* (Jakarta: P3M, 1986), 134.

activities are performed only at the time after Maghrib, Isha and Fajr. In addition to school activities, the students also interacted with the village people, especially through the snack food stalls and fill the regular lectures held in the public celebration. In addition to internal social interaction with Muslims, the students also interact with the non-Muslims, especially in student council activities at each school, with Christian friends, where they sometimes hold informal apologetic debate on relationship between Jesus and the Prophet Muhammad. But the social interaction is more social and personal and does not violate Islamic teachings or Islamic sharia because of the demand to maintain good relations with our fellow human beings (*hablu min an-naas*).

Kiai Leadership

Although *Pesantren* An Nida is better known because of its modernity in the sense that it is in the city, its kiai leadership is not so different from other boarding schools patterned in charismatic leadership. The charismatic leadership is also supported by the rationalistic values, especially in terms of authoritative defegation in *Pesantren* which was left to the senior students. The support of rationalistic values is also seen from the position of kiai as a businessman who often uses rational considerations (profit and loss) when doing trade with colleagues who are mostly of ethnic Chinese, whether they are Christian, Confucian, and Buddhist. In addition, a foundation was also founded that later became the technical managing agencies for the *Pesantrens* of which its elements of staff consists of alumnus friends of KH. Ali As'ad and his senior students. Naturally the kiai charismatic figure gradually reduced to rational institutional management and modern principles of accountability each period. The mutually rotating process is still ongoing and it will gradually affect the

pattern of kiai leadership towards rational participatory, though its charismatic traits can not be eliminated because religious authorities of such great kiai in *Pesantrens*.

Boarding School (*Pesantren*) Curriculum

It can be said that almost all the scientific books are set to be the source of knowledge curriculum in schools but no books are written in Javanese, Indonesian or English. Most books are written in Arabic, so it is called the yellow book (classic book = *Kitab Kuning*). The Characteristics of the yellow book, besides the papers are yellowish and arranged in the form of sheets (*Mushaf*), like newspapers, as well as its scientific materials is the work of most of the scholars of the past mostly written in Arabic script and felt still actual in life due to the transmission sustainable science until now. The yellow book was later settled for a long time and become historically established, making it the sacred books of knowledge, both the content and the Arabic text.

Among the names of taught yellow books are based on knowledge of Arabic and *Fiqh* (Islamic law), such as the Books of *jurmiyah*, *imriti*, *alfiyah*, *fathul mu'in* and *fiqhu ul Sunnah*. In terms of teaching the yellow book, *kiais* become the central point of teaching jurisprudence (*fiqh*). It is in the hands of scholars that *fiqh* books are taught to the students. The most important thing in the teaching of the book of *fiqh* is the *kiais'* ability to compare the four schools of *fiqh*, which then recommends the *santri* to dare to do *ijtihad*. Because in deciding Islamic law it was the Imams of madzhab who dare to perform *ijtihad*, so that the students should be able to follow the spirit of *ijtihad*. Therefore, in any *wetonan* (birthday) congregation kiai always taught and stressed the importance of the benefits of *ijtihad* in understanding the issue of religion (*fiqh*).

In the general discussions on *Fathul Mu'in* book, for example, kiai always describes the

opinions of jurists on a day-to-day problems. He did not even describe the material resulting from the Jurist's about what should be (mandatory), allowed or optional (sunnah), mubah (permissible), not-permissible (makruh) and forbidden (haram) or do not do, but he describes the opinion of Jurist on *ijtihad*. By performing *ijtihad*, the jurist may issue opinions (*fatwas*) on issues of religion with different contexts. So *kiai* has less attention to the materials 'what' was said the jurist, but to the "why" and "how" or ways (*manhaj*) of the Jurist in making a conclusion (*istimbath*) on issues relating to religious law. Even to parse it, *kiais* did not hesitate to take an example by issuing *fatwas* surprising his *santris*, such as a woman can be a president. Yet despite the teaching yellow books turn into the curriculum standards, *kiais* often in the learning process also suggests that the students will learn general science.

Socio-cultural Conditions

Most people around the *Pesantren An Nida* are urbans, so they have a high level of social mobility. Most people's livelihoods are either trader or employees in government agencies and private. Among them sell rice at the stalls set up near schools and sell at the town market. As governmental officers, most of them become teachers or civil servants in several government agencies. Many of them also work as private sector employees, especially in a textile factory in the south part of schools. With already *terdeferiansi* differential livelihood they have a tendency to think and act rationally, even in the religious ones.

In terms of religious pluralism, *Ledok* community in the complex of *Pesantren An Nida* also have different religious backgrounds. There are among others followers of Catholicism and Protestantism, even in the southwest of the *Pesantren* there stands a magnificent church. Sometimes on one occasion, among people

who are Protestants and Catholics come to the house to have social communication with *kiai* or dialogue about "excellence of dogma" of each religious truth claims believed to defend his faith. While for the Muslim population, there are some who learn to read the Koran at the *Pesantren*, and even some living rooms in some surrounding houses are used to be a place to read the Koran for the students because of limited space in the *Pesantren* complex.

Profile of *Pesantren* Edi Mancoro

Pesantren Edi Mancoro is located in the village of Bendungan Desa Gedangan, about five kilo meters away from the west side of the square Salatiga. Gedangan village is divided administratively into seven villages, namely Bandungan, Cork, Bendu, Dempel, Gedangan, Padaan and Karangnongko. As a self-sufficient village, Gedangan is an affluent area with soil conditions with average fertile fields and abundant water so that it fits to plant rice and pulses, especially it is adjacent to Rawa Pening and located at the foot of Mount Merbabu and cool Telomoyo. From the cultural side, Gedangan society is an *abangan* society, but since 1964 the Gedangan change along with the political turmoil in 1965, mainly after the presence of *Pesantren* Edi Mancoro.

The embryo of *Pesantren* Edi Mancoro was established by KH. Saleh, a newcomer to the village Gedangan as an Islamic preacher. By building a small mosque and *Pesantren* named Darussalam, KH. Saleh launched his preaching to respond to patterns of rural community life, who was considered pathologically prone. But after KH. Salih died in 1970, practically Darussalam da 'wah activities stopped because no figures are inherited. Then on the initiative of *Kiai* Sukemi who were featured in the community, religious activities Darussalam revived. Six years later *Kiai* Sukemi died, so in 1976 the leadership in Darussalam was replaced

by KH. Mahfud Ridwan who married KH. Salih's daughter.³⁶)

At first KH Mahfud Ridwan was a new comer from the village Pulutan not far from the village Gedangan. He is the son of a local kiai, and since his youth he has had a lot of experiences in learning in several *Pesantrens*, among others in *Pesantren* Darussalam Watucongol Muntilan, *Pesantren* Raudhatut Thalibin Rembang and studied for eight years at the University of Baghdad in Iraq, so that he was friend with the late KH. Abdurrahman Wahid.

Along with the leadership at the *Pesantren* in 1984, to KH Mahfud Ridwan with the late Mathori Abdul Jalil pioneered the establishment of a foundation called "Desaku Maju" engaged in rural social welfare with the main objective to develop the quality of human resources in rural areas. Four years later, precisely in 1979 *Pesantren* Darussalam changed to *Pesantren* Edi Mancoro which means "shining goodness light" as he himself hopes to make the *Pesantren* as a center for scientific kindness and charity in the community.

While the complex of physical structure of the main *Pesantren* Edi Mancoro was Darussalam Mosque which is a fairly old mosque with meru architecture the style assimilation with Java Hinduism. The mosque is in addition to a place of worship, also a place to learn for students. To the east of the mosque was the residence of *kiais* and their families while the east side is the building for girl students. The complex of *Pesantren* Edi Mancoro is like a village view, with many beautiful and lush trees and flowers growing in the *Pesantren* complex which also became a liaison of the houses with a lot of trees.

Students' (Santri) Social Interaction

Most of the students who live in *Pesantren* Mancoro Eddie was not only aimed at reading Koran, but also going through formal education in educational institutions in the city of Salatiga, such as in MAN, SMA and STAIN. In addition, many students are involved in the activities of NGOs because this *Pesantren* has a network of NGOs with a wide, even to Jakarta. In Gedangan Forum established by KH Mahfud Ridwan with his colleagues and lecturers of UKSW for example, many students are active in rural community empowerment. There are about 25 villages being led by this *Pesantren* with its NGO's social activities, such as the formation of cooperatives, provision of life skills courses for residents and also sometimes held social gathering of inter-religious forum. Moreover, this *Pesantren* is often used as a place activities for student activists, particularly the activities of the members of PMII and HMI, such as the implementation of PKD or LK (Leadership Training).

In terms of social interaction with other religions, the students are not only involved in NGO networks boarding, but also held discussions and inter-religious dialogue with Christian groups, such as discussion of fasting in many other religions. Therefore, the social interaction with other religious students in this *Pesantren* is more striking than in *Pesantren* An Nida. In one occasion, the Minister of Religious Affairs Malik Fadjar with pastors and other religious leaders visited the *Pesantren* by holding an inter-religious harmony programme. But when asked about the attitude of *santris* in terms of church attendance, they are less responsive to this issue, so they are so sensitive when seeing other religious symbols.

Kiai Leadership

Pesantren kiai leadership pattern seems to hold the leadership of Edi Mancoro Javanese mystical traditionalism as the primary authority

³⁶ Ali Nugroho, *Penelitian tentang Sikap dan Komitmen dalam Kegiatan Kemasyarakatan dan Keagamaan (Pada Alumni Pondok Pesantren Edi Mancoro Desa Gedangan Kecamatan Tuntang Semarang Tahun 1997* (Skripsi, STAIN Salatiga, 1997), 29.

with complimentary elements, among others, besides the KH. Mahfud Ridwan genetically descended kiai, he also became son in law of kiai that there occurs continuously scientific transmission among *kiais* in a kiai family tie. It is here that kiai established religious authority based on the local value of Java that is not only trusted by *santris*, but also by the local community that gave birth to the charismatic leadership that forms a solid spiritual personality in the transmission of their knowledge:

In addition to the requirements of a strong personality, in *Pesantrens* they are also encouraged by the growth of the traditional teaching structure based on transmission of knowledge from one generation to another with individual guidance system (the system which means the approval, certificate of kiai to his students to teach a text after his mastery).³⁷

In addition to the above genetic support, KH. Mahfud Ridwan was also known as practician (active follower) of congregations, namely *Thoriqoh Syadziliyah*. The congregation was founded by a Muslim scholar from the country *Sufic* Morocco, Abu Hasan Syadzili and then developed extensively in Asia, including to Indonesia, especially in Kudus and Salatiga. As a practician, KH. Mahfud Riwan often held ritual worship in the mosque with the congregation *Syadziliyah* population and the *santri*. The congregation's reciting was more practical, in the sense of short-term and usually practiced after maghrib prayer and Fajr prayer about an hour before the sun rises from the east. The *sufi* order's reciting is done by reading the loud *dhikr*, not *Sirri* (sketchy) by reading the sentence *subhanallah, astaghfirullah* and *lai ila ha illa Allah* a hundred times.

Another important feature of Tarekat *Syadziliyah* lies on its *taushiyah* with its issues on sensitivity to the problems of poverty in society, so they can generate work ethic based

on religion calls. In the Protestant congregation in the Christian religion this order is similar to Calvin Church's followers on the ascetic teachings of the world (asceticism) and worldly work ethic in the lives of God's chosen believers. Beside the *Wiridan* mentioned above, the *Pesantren* also teaches *tahlilan* by reciting *dzikr* a hundred to a thousand times performed on Friday night and led by the scholars themselves in the mosque.

In such a context, it seems that kiai leadership appears itself as "cultural brokers" in which mystical Islamic cultures was screened and accepted by *kiais* to be a member because this is in line with the circumstances surrounding the religious community. This resulted in a foreign culture that does not comply with the mystical culture and values of the *Pesantren* religious are not accepted, even rejected by *kiais* as it is contrary to the values of Javanese cultural harmony.

Boarding School Curriculum

The Teaching Process in *Pesantren* Edi Mancoro also uses classical system, from the first year to the third year called the annual credit system. The classical system is applied after Ashar, Maghrib and Isha prayers. But the existing *wetonan* and *sorogan* systems are not abandoned. The two teaching systems are usually done after dawn (subuh) prayer and Islamic sermons on Sunday mornings. In *wetonan* systems, for example, such as teaching is held in an open lecture, where some *kiais* read a certain yellow book, translate and then explain the issues mentioned in the text of the discussed book.³⁸

Like in *salafiyah Pesantren* in general, the given curriculum is the study of the yellow book that discusses the issues of jurisprudence, such as *Sulam Taufiq*, *Taqrib*, and *Fathu/ Wahab*. There is also an Arabic grammar teaching, using

³⁷ Abdurrahman Wahid, *Bunga Rampai Pesantren*, 18.

³⁸ An interview with KH Mahfud Ridwan, 20 October 1999.

Nahwu and Sharaf books, but these subjects are only used as a tool for students (*santris*) to understand the materials found in books of *fiqh*, which are written in Arabic. Sometimes some political *fiqh* books are also taught, especially the book of *al-Ahkamu Sultaniyah* written by a prominent Islamic scholar in the Middle Ages, the Shaykh al-Mawardi. To contextualize this book, he frequently issued a *fatwa* against the political opinions of Muslims in general. In the 1999 public election, for example, KH. Mahfud Ridwan also allows a woman to be president based on the juristic arguments supported by people's willingness. However, the jurisprudence studies are more oriented on *fiqh* of worship, such as complete and detailed prayer procedure or pilgrimage ordinance, and on marriage. Rarely do *santris* study *fiqh muamalah*, a kind of commercial laws and the likes with their normative nature.

Time schedule of lectures or learning in *Pesantren* Edi Mancoro are arranged are like what we can find in other boarding schools as adjusted to the time of *rawatib* prayer. So the study that followed students activity is reduced after a time of prayer *rawatib*, minus the midday prayer time. The reduction of time of teaching is caused by the situation of formal schools' time schedules when a lot of students have to go to school, so it is not possible to hold a public sermon because there will be no participants who follow. In addition, some *kiais* and teachers should teach at some governmental schools. Therefore the teaching schedule in effect at this *Pesantren* has also to be adjusted in accordance with schedules in formal schools. In other words, the study time must be flexible.

Socio-cultural Conditions

Residents who live around the school are 'the rural people and most of them are farmers. Hence the *Pesantren* Edi Mancoro is strongly coloured by atmosphere of calm, peaceful but

simple village which is in harmony with the values of the harmony of nature and mysticism the local residents believed. Mystical values rests on the inner peace of the world as the highest priority value which then affects given behavior in social interaction. That is why in case there happens the behavioral disharmony with inner values in each individual's life any imbalance will appear that can cause social disturbance in the form of chaos or social anomalies.

It is has been assumed that there are still mystical stories found among the local population, such as the supernatural Si Baru Klinting or Si Fulan in making and changing the village of Rawa Pening into a broad lake; or the presence of Si Penunggu in the Lake of Rawa Pening so if someone makes a date in the lake area she or he will be brought into the lake currents. In addition to the unique circulated myth stories, most people still hold *kenduren* ceremony to commemorate certain family and kinship events by requesting a godsend, as *mawludan*, *manaqiban*, *tahlilan* and *selametan*.³⁹

In terms of religion, the Gedangan villagers are fairly homogenous in the sense that most of them are Muslims of Ahlus Sunnah waljama'ah. The homogeneity is caused by among other transformation of *Pesantren* in the past where most Edi Mancoro almuni live and become honoured figures and role models among the Gedangan villagers. Among the almuni, some of them work as farmers, teachers, businessmen, and even the village chief. Therefore, this pattern of social networks causes most of the

³⁹ *Manaqiban* is an Islamic religious ceremony conducted by gathering together at someone's house or in the mosque, as *selametan*, but the emphasis is on reading book of *Manaqib* whose content is the reciting of history of lives of prominent Sufi Muslim world and the Java community in particular, the founder of the Qadiri Order order named Shaykh Abdul Qadir Al Jaelani. While in *Mawludan* and *selametan* there is no difference, but the emphasis on the reading of the *Mawlid al-Barzanji* or *al-Burdah* were sung beautifully as it contains poems of praise about the personal life of Prophet Muhammad Peace be Upon Him.

Gedangan residents belong to students at the *Pesantren Gedangan Edi Mancoro* then known as nonresident *santris* or *santri kalong*. In addition to the factors of alumnis scattering around the village, the KH. Mahfud Ridwan's social role and religious in the village was also quite significant. This can be seen from his charisma and influence on village governance, at the election of village heads and in a junior high school education in the village.

Models of Religious Education Inclusivism and *Pesantren* Local Culture

The results of research conducted in the *Pesantren An Nida* and *Pesantren Edi Mancoro* show that the model of religious education at both the Islamic boarding schools are from sustainability to cultural transformation. Therefore, in the process of social development, in both *Pesantren An Nida* and *Edi Mancoro* there exists a parallel relationship on pressure from Islamic religious motivation as a basis for the establishment of schools when dealing with Javanese culture. Responsive struggle between the religious world, of Islam in one side, and on the other side of the world of culture in fact have established the existence and function of *Pesantren* into an independent cultural institution then called sub-culture. The existence of *Pesantren* as a sub-culture or local culture happens because of the presence of Islam roled by *Pesantrens* in their early days of coming into Javanese culture. So the presence of Islam does not replace or eliminate the elements of the local culture, but it got into the culture.⁴⁰

Then the position of this sub-culture in the formation process was supported by a group of people who were then called *santris* as an autonomous social community. With its patterns

and way of life, Islamic values are maintained and developed while its held life pattern, on the next turn encourages the existence of *santri* to form a social community separated from the outside. The separation comes up as the result of the long process of time which then created a tradition that grew out of the realization doctrine or belief and ritual practices of Islam that continuously run in daily life. The long tradition of *santris*, were then grown in the form of social communities scattered in several places in the form of boarding (*Pesantren*) institutions.

In the case of *santris* in the *Pesantren An Nida* and *Edi Mancoro*, apparently based on conducted research has revealed that the preservation of the tradition of students is determined by two interrelated sociological factors: first, the kiai leadership shown by KH. Mahfud at *Pesantren Edi Mancoro* Ridwan, and KH. Ali As'ad at *Pesantren* who act more as a tradition caretaker leadership (traditionality guarder) of Islam that enables it to continuously pass to the students (*santri*). Second, the curriculum in terms of teaching the book of yellow as the main transmission medium of Islamic religious sciences in both the schools, has been characterized as a tradition (Islam) buffer.

However, *santris'* tradition that is a sustainable tradition at *Pesantren An Nida* and *Edi Mancoro* seem to be not static and passive, but undergo a transformative change. The change occurred because of the two traditions of social variables that affect, ie first, *santris'* social interaction with the sociocultural environment in where the organization stood up and took the role. Social interaction between *Pesantrens* and the local cultural environment is running actively and transformatively, in the sense that each party has experiences such interaction that encourage reciprocal relationships. Reciprocity which was then called the tranformative association is apparently passed through the

⁴⁰ Muhammad Muntahibun Nafis, "Pesantren dan Pluralisme: Upaya Modernisasi Pendidikan Pesantren Menuju Masyarakat Madani", at *Insania: Jurnal Pemikiran Alternatif Pendidikan*, P3M STAIN Purwokerto, Vol. 13, No. 2, Mei-Ags 2008, 2.

transformative process of adapting rather than conflict. It means that in *Pesantren An Nida* and *Edi Mancoro* the adapting process was seen as a religiously and culturally positive thing, while the conflict relationship is seen as a negative thing and should be avoided. However, in everyday the social realities in the two schools are different. The *Pesantren An Nida* accepted the reality of the process of social conflict as a natural fact. While in *Pesantren Edi Mancoro*, conflict is a bad thing that has to be adaptable in social reality as the highest value of harmony.

Second, the open patterns of social interaction of *santris* in both the schools with a pluralistic religious world, such as the presence of Christianity in the area. The openness of *santris* social interaction was caused by, among others, the formal education pursued by *santris* outside of schools, and students' social interaction to other religious communities through dialogue activities or interreligious seminar. The problem was that there arises a question: which students' preserved tradition can be transformed?

The answer is that the tradition of students as described above in fact have cultivated a solid authority in the field of religion (Islam). Authority in the field of religion when observed from religious views and social interaction of students in both the schools had come up from their religious understanding which he saw as a set of *fiqh* (liturgy) rules to be practiced in everyday life as the highest socio-religious values. The supremacy of the *fiqh* (jurisprudence) in the socio-religious and the social phenomenon of forming intrinsic Islamic values to the the students' world view. Thus the process of transformation to sustainability are the religious authorities who hold the value of the *fiqh* of Islamic supremacy, with its rules and principles; maintain a good past history and take also of the good things that are new in contemporary life.

In *Pesantren An-Nida*, Islamic religious authorities to which students complied were caused by the application of *fiqh* enlightened by the value of *ijtihad* (rational reasoning). Here *ijtihad* is used to realize jurisprudence, as is often implanted KH Ali As'ad in each study were convening to the students. It is by *ijtihad* that the values of rationality in understanding religion (*fiqh*) is encouraged. Therefore, the elements of *ijtihad* and *fiqh* among students in boarding *An Nida* became religious authorities generally adhered to and respected religiosity. The mutual interrelationships between the *ijtihad* and *fiqh* has created religious authority among students in both *Pesantren An Nida* and *Edi Mancoro*.

So an outlook of view of life rests on the rule of Islamic law that is undergoing dynamism due to enlightenment of the values of *ijtihad*. The principle sources of *ijtihad* i.e. rationalization of religion in itself will encourage students to give less attention to the traditions or religious beliefs tend-mystical rituals. Instead of foreign elements due to interaction with the new culture-that is rationalistic which is parallel to the values of *ijtihad* readily accepted to be part of the internal structure of the juristic relationship patterns with *ijtihad*.

Unlike the *santris* of *Pesantren An Nida*, religious authority complied by *santris* at *Pesantren Edi Mancoro* was enforced on the basis of enlightened jurisprudence application by *Sufi* values, where *fiqh* internalized as an important part of spiritual experience. Yet religious authority in both the school have common sense, i.e. they have a pattern of parallel reciprocity in developing religious authority, which rests on the rule of Islamic law. Here occurs a pattern of reciprocal relationship between *Sufism* and Jurisprudence (*fiqh*) creating religious authority complied by *santris*. Jurisprudence (*fiqh*) become dynamic because of spiritual *sufistic* enlightenment (values of

spiritualistic Islamic mysticism); parallel with the culture of the people who still hold on the mystical experience.

Thus the emerging religious authority does not produce a well-established tradition of trust, lack of spiritual dimension and does not change as the authority has been enlightened by Sufism. Elements of mysticism that comes from spiritual experience acquired, among others, through the preservation of ritual congregations; ceremony *selamatan* which in turn encourages the formation of values in understanding the spirituality of religion (*fiqh*). It is the elements of Sufism enlightening jurisprudence that produced the Islamic religious authorities. Again, It is the religious authority with its mystical/spiritual values that encourages Islam undergo a process of transformation with the outside world through mutual influence of social processes. Through this transformative mechanism the process of admissions then occurred, recognized and trusted.

Conclusion

Based on the results of the research described above, it can be concluded that, First, the model of religious inclusivism *santris* who appear both in *Pesantren An Nida* and *Pesantren Edi Mancoro* is from sustainability to cultural transformation. This means that religious inclusivism is born from the students (*santris*) themselves and at the same time as the preservation of the traditions due to the transformation process. The *santris'* traditions which form cultural values are transformed into outside because they are maintained and at the same time the traditions changed due to the influence of external transformed values as well.

There happens preservation of *santris'* tradition because of the two determinant factors, namely a) *kiai* as guardians of tradition, and b) the teaching of the yellow book (*Kitab Kuning*)

as a tradition buffer. While the transformation process that resulted in a changing tradition was also determined by two factors, namely a) *Pesantrens'* socio-institutional interaction with the local cultural environment (Javanese), and b) *santris'* patterns of social interaction exposed to the external environment of diversity.

Second. Relationship of the four factors has in fact created a religious authority that the *santris* followed. In *Pesantren An Nida*, religious authority was formed by the supermacy of *fiqh* enlightened by *ijtihad* values. There occurs interrelationship between *fiqh* and *ijtihad*. In *Pesantren Edi Mancoro*, religious authority that the *santris* observed was formed by the supermacy of *fiqh* enlightened by *ijtihad* values enlightened by the values of Sufism. There is also interrelationship between *fiqh* and Sufism in constructing religious authority.

Third, the religious authority constituting source of *santris'* religious views and behavior, both in *Pesantren An Nida* and *Edi Mancoro* in fact have experienced paradoxical because of their unopenness against religious symbols outside their *santris*. This happens because the values created by the religious authorities were still conceived as a set of symbols, so that when the outer symbol does not comply with the symbol it is then considered a stranger.

There are a few constructive suggestions that would be required with respect to this research. First, to students in *Pesantren An Nida* and *Edi Mancoro*, the two different but followed religious authorities could be mutually acceptable or positive synergy as each of both religious authority has weaknesses when dealing with the social context in which religious authority is applied.

Second, both students (*santris*) of *Pesantren An Nida* and *Edi Mancoro* are supposed to no longer see religion merely as a set of sacred symbols, but the value system believed to be substantive. The reason is that if they still do

there will emerge exclusive religious views and attitudes which are closed and isolated from the social context in which religion was grown in diverse environments.

Third, to the existence of non-Islamic religions still considered as strangers, they may get into the local culture at least at its symbolic level, so it can grow appreciative attitude towards the problem of interreligious relations in the context of local culture.

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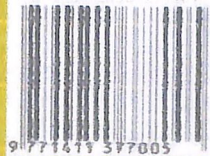


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